3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4. 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6



768 generally caused the entire village to be moved. It is possible that this practice sometimes served to check the ravages of disease, but its ostensible reason was to get away from the place of death, even as the tipi was destroyed.

761 Death was not feared by the Comanches. It was ever present and they lived in violence and danger. But the dead caused them great anxiety. They were extravagant in the manifestation of concern. Thus, life, which was received quite casually and with mild pleasure, was closed with extreme emotional outbursts.

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



115 159 756 [824] [278] year of school. This first phase consisted of lessons in identifying certain medicine plants in the field and in the avenues of acquisition of medicines which were not native to southern Oklahoma. Sanapia was also taught the rituals involved in the collection of certain plants and the various manners of rendering raw plant parts into manipulatable medicine. Concomitantly, she was instructed in the skills of administering medicines.

The first phase initiated Sanapia's training period and continued throughout the next three years. Sanapia was next instructed in the diagnosing of all manner of human afflictions and their proper treatment. During this time she served as an aid to her mother and maternal uncle in their doctoring activities and thus was able to observe the actual treatment of patients as well as the required deportment of a doctor and his patient. However, knowledge of ethics and required role behavior of a doctor was not left to Sanapia's youthful observations alone. She remembers "long, long talks" when her mother and uncle would impress on her the proper behavior of a doctor.

115 159 756 177 These rules of conduct, in the way in which they deemphasize the significance of the individual and emphasize the supernatural powers operating through him, seem to have a distinctly Judao-Christian cast to them and appear to be somewhat counter to the more individual-oriented supernaturalistic notions recorded for the Comanches of an earlier time. Perhaps Sanapia, in her attempt to construct a unified religious structure from the three disparate supernaturalistic systems into which she was born, has slightly modified the tenor of the eagle doctor ethics and their premises, as taught by her mother and maternal uncle, to make them more compatible with other elements in her own personal syncretic supernaturalistic complex. It is highly doubtful that her mother, with her aversion to Christianity, would have so sensitively and systematically performed this feat.

## Deportment of a Doctor

115 159 756 [761] Most importantly, the doctor must lead a good and honorable life. The Medicine demands this, and it would do harm to the individual possessing it if he acted in a manner unbecoming a *puhakut*. Sanapia suggests that a *puhakut* and his Medicine are one. If a possessor of power, through his untoward behavior, brings disgrace on himself, he also brings disgrace on his Medicine, and as punishment his power could cause his death.

The doctor must also be always accessible. He cannot refuse anyone his services. Sanapia conceptualizes herself, in the role of eagle doctor, as the medium through which the Medicine operates. She "possesses" Medicine only in this sense, and, once she has committed herself to the life of a *puhakut*, it is no longer her decision as to who may or may not benefit from a supernatural power acting through her which can alleviate human suffering.

An eagle doctor must never extol his own abilities and should also dissuade others from doing so. Once again, Sanapia interprets this as a further means by which the doctor recognizes that it is not the doctor but the Medicine with which he has been gifted, which is responsible for the good works which are accomplished by him.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma



several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.

## Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekwinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They